DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 149 281 CS 003 850

TITLE	Leadership and Planned Change.
INSTITUTION	Illinois State Office of Education, Springfield.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Right to Read Program.
PUB DATE	[77]
NOTE	16p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 HC-$1.67 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Administrator Guides; *Administrator Responsibility; *Change Strategies; *Educational Administration; Educational Change; Educational Objectives; *Educational Planning; *Guidelines; Leadership Qualities; Leadership Training
IDENTIFIERS	*Right to Read

ABSTRACT

This paper asserts that "planned change" is a process that can be used by educational directors tc improve the crganization and management of activities in situations where goals involve the implementation of change. Literature on the topic of planned change, from the fields of industry, government, education, and the social sciences, is summarized and applied tc education, and a number of operational principles are outlined. The obligations cf leaders in planning for change are defined, and a commentary on current administrative practices is included, along with some specific recommendations for improvement. The paper concludes with suggestions, addressed to local Right-tc-Read directors, for facilitating goals in school-related contexts. (HAI)

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LEADERSHIP AND PLANNED CHANGE

Right to Read

State Board of Education
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CS003850

LEADERSHIP AND PLANNED CHANGE

Weep not that the world
changes--did it keep a stable,
changeless state, it were cause
indeed to weep.

--William Cullen Bryant

A catchy concept, "planned change," because semantically the two terms do not really fit together. Planned has overtones meaning structured and inflexible, almost antonyms for change. Less catchy, but interesting, is the fact that each term is a hot item these days. Planning, or a similar concept--forecasting, designing, blueprinting, mapping--and change all appear with enormous regularity in the mass media. These concepts are frequently used in proposals intended to overcome the ills of American society as well as to discuss events throughout the world. To sum up with a cliche, "the times are a-changin', better plan while you can."

This paper closely examines the concept of planned change and critiques literature on the topic in hopes of producing some clear prescriptions for practice. Right-to-Read directors, like leaders in all organizations, have primary responsibility for organizing and managing a business so that acceptable goals can be met. Planned change is a process that can be used by directors as readily as businessmen to improve the organization and management of educational activities in situations where goals involve the implementation of change.

The procedures for planned change are closely linked with strategies for solving problems under potentially emotional conditions. Available theory yields a number of sensible prescriptions for practice. However, the literature on planned change provides little help in drawing these conclusions. Even the most notable works are flawed by ambiguous metaphors, loose jargon and hyperbole. Any clear recommendations for practice this paper puts forth appear in spite of the large body of theoretical writing.

The pages that follow present, first, a critical review of the literature with a summary, clarification and integration of major points. Second, the obligations of leaders in planning for change are discussed in accordance with commentary on current administrative practices and specific recommendations for improvement. In this section also, suggestions are made to local Right-to-Read directors for facilitating their goals in school-related contexts.

PLANNED CHANGE: A LOOK AT THE LITERATURE

A massive volume of writing on planned change spanning the last forty years has been collected by Bennis, Benne and Chin (1961) in *The Planning of Change*. Contributing authors hail from industry, government, education and the social sciences. The principles discussed below were taken from this work and from books by Bem (1970) and Miles (1964).

According to Chin and Downey (1973), planned change is the term used to describe a system of relations between a change agent and a client, where there is "mutual goal setting, movement toward equal power balance, and use of valid knowledge" (p. 52).

Borrowed from industry and grounded in social science theory (Lewin, 1948), the concept of planned change entered education almost by force. System planners have brought, in recent years, a sense of efficiency and rigor to ongoing programs in the field of education. Saettler (1968) described the origin of the systems approach and its application to education. Initially conceived during the industrial revolution, systems engineering referred to the "invention, design and integration of an entire assembly of equipment...geared to the accomplishment of a broad objective." Early applications of systems engineering were made in military research. In the sixties, the concept was modified to describe "the interaction of men and machines within the context of an organization in terms of specific tasks and outcomes" (p. 269). In education, the idea implied "a systematic approach to communication and learning" (p. 270). Traditional methods of education were thought to be primitive because they did not incorporate theory and research of the behavioral sciences. It was believed that this new way of seeing would help connect the "fragmented innovations" that had cluttered up education year after year.

Systems technology found favor with many administrators and most researchers, but school staffs, consisting largely of educators, were sympathetic to human issues rather than efficiency and scientific rigor. As text after text on planned change notes, there is still great distance between the viewpoints of industrial scientists and educators, despite considerable effort to span this distance with humanizing techniques (Benne and Muntyan, 1949; Bennis, Benne and Chin, 1961; Miles, 1964).

According to Bennis, Benne and Chin (1961), the primary failure lies in the difficult task of relating the abstract to the concrete. Quoting Lewin (1948), Bennis, Benne and Chin say this gap can be bridged "only if, as a result of constant intense tension, (the researcher) can keep both theory and reality fully within his field of vision" (p. 4). The "constant intense tension" Lewin refers to is suggested by Bennis, Benne, and Chin to be the large body of social processes, or dynamics, that may, in the long run, cause theory to influence action decisions. Programs for systematic change will be ineffective until greater efforts are made to examine the interrelationships among agents, actions and object of change--the ways in which change is "created, implemented, evaluated, maintained and resisted" (p. 5).

One gets the feeling that concerns identified by those knowledgeable about planned change tend to be words lacking in substance. This is true not only of expressed concerns, but also of operational principles. Often, recommendations are patently untenable in the real world; and those that are tenable are frequently too general for specific settings.

The principles described in the next part of this paper are presented, first, as they derive directly from literature. Then, in an effort to make clear and specific recommendations for educational situations, these principles are revised. Contrary to the belief of Kurt Lewin, practitioners, as well as researchers, can be instrumental in bridging the gap between the abstract and the concrete in planning changes. Theory into practice can best be accomplished by refusing to

keep theory and reality only "within the field of vision--" but rather, letting one's vision extend beyond the end of the road.

Operational Principles of Planned Change

I. According to Bennis, Benne and Chin (1961), there are four basic steps involved in systematic planning for change: (1) analysing the present situation; (2) determining required changes; (3) implementing the changes and (4) stabilizing the new situation so that it can be maintained. These steps are standard procedures for a rational approach to problem-solving. (Begin with an explicit definition of the problem situation; and end with procedures for assuring continued acceptance of the proposed solution.) Use of this method assumes the existence of two important conditions and necessitates consideration of a third.

First, there must be enough clarity and stability of purpose in the system to permit a rational approach. Second, it must be possible to stabilize and maintain new situations. It is highly questionable whether these assumptions can be met in dynamic situations such as schools and other educational settings. Human response to innovation is often irrational and unrelated to purpose. As everyone knows, the one constant in life is change. To embrace change as a rationale for innovation, yet expect innovation to maintain itself under ordinary conditions is paradoxical. The process of planned change needs clarification if it is to be more useful in practice.

For two reasons, the rational approach to problem solving does not work as smoothly in practice as it does in theory: (1) people often act irrationally; and (2) the world is constantly changing. Thus, proposed plans for change must anticipate sources of human unreasonableness, such as unwillingness of school leaders to get involved in new programs because no one else is doing it; or lack of support from teachers' unions for political reasons. Once anticipated, these difficulties can be met head-on. Plans for change must be flexible enough in scheduling and managing of resources in order to make use of unexpected occurences (like shifts in decision-making power and support for new programs) that come from interacting in the real world.

Finally, to use the problem-solving approach effectively, it is necessary to consider potential forces of resistance to change--forces that keep present methods in their groove and block alternative arrangements. These forces of resistance, as outlined by Jenkins (1961, pp. 238-40), may include such factors as value-orientations, group norms, lack of resources or adequate knowledge, etc., all of which must be considered before real change can occur.

In the schools, for example, cultural or social values of the community may influence curriculum content decisions. Is a social studies program with no Chicano history desirable for a community in which over half the population is Chicano? School environments are influenced by community attitudes. One example is the re-appearance of Fundamentalist schools in densely-populated areas where delinquency rates are high. To introduce a change of any magnitude, school leaders or outside interest groups must examine and analyse

the change situation in-context. They should attempt to deal explicitly and at the outset with potential forces of resistance in order to offer solutions where problems arise. One way to accomplish this would be to list all potential forces of resistance along with proposed strategies for overcoming that resistance. Such an exercise not only has the advantage of increasing social awareness of the problem but also extends the range of anticipated consequences of change.

II. By the Chin and Downey definition, planned change involves collaborative relationships and "mutual goal-setting." Here again, the jargon lacks meaning when broken down. Concepts like "engendered cooperation" and "mutual negotiation" assume the existence of a democratic belief system. Thus planned change would not be possible in rigidly-governed organizations or institutions; or in a state of social revolution. Yet, the major instances of planned change have historically been authoritarian. Planned change is typically imposed change, as the overtone in meaning implies. This is very different from participative planning of the sort used in democratic processes. It is fine to say cooperation has its own rewards (not to mention such costs as time and effort), but this ideal suffers when taken out of the theorist's textbook. The concept planned both implies and encourages authoritarian leadership; while the ideal process, participative planning, emphasizes democratic action. Most probably participative planning suffers in the real world because it is difficult to put into practice.

Practitioners need to begin taking steps in the direction of implementing participative planning. Interests and concerns can be solicited from various groups in informal conversations or gatherings, such as Parent-Teachers Association meetings or teacher in-service workshops. Initial planning sessions can be arranged to include representatives from related interest groups. When involved, people will be less likely to mistrust decisions and more likely to support the change effort.

Whatever the method be for involving people, it should address local needs. The best way will vary from situation to situation.

III. Six characteristics of cooperative planning have been outlined by Benne (1961) as "democratic norms." These characteristics provide a list of aims to which the planning process can be directed.

1. Collaboration must be engendered across different groups of individuals to construct a common interest. As Benne points out, this requires acceptance that the resulting common interest will be beneficial for all involved (p. 143).

2. Efforts should be made to merge theory and practice. Planned changes should be based on "the best available knowledge (of social science) regarding the social forces and factors promoting and impeding various possible changes and their consequences" (p. 143). At the same time, practical skills for promoting this knowledge must be brought to bear in actual situations at the local level. Thus, appropriate knowledge and skills necessary to affect planned change must come from outside, as well as inside the organization (through trainers, consultants and researchers).

As Benne himself notes, joint efforts by practitioners, special interest groups and consulting social scientists rarely come naturally (p. 143). Where there is a hint of unnatural or imposed collaboration, additional problems will result. For example, when powerful leaders of traditional and open schools are made to collaborate, philosophical differences can be expected to affect good judgment. In such cases, ideal collaboration is virtually impossible and arguments must be well-supported if they are to be convincing.

3. The planning of change must be educational for the participants (p. 144). Individuals and groups involved in planned change should acquire, as a result of the experience, the habits, skills, and capacity to resolve present and future problems. It should be a fundamental and continuing concern of change agents to teach the process for use in future applications. Writing out the steps in the process, as well as the goals to be accomplished, should help.

4. Planned change must be experimental. Not even the most agreed-upon change should be considered final. Instead, each change that is tried should be examined in light of its consequences and modified accordingly. Karl Popper, philosopher of science, has noted that the tendency in change situations is to look for evidence that efforts are having desired effects. He views this approach as a narrow one, for people see what they are looking for; and suggests that a better strategy is to seek evidence that things are not having desired effects (Magee, 1973, p. 73). With the increased vision this technique affords, planners and implementors are better able to spot undesirable consequences and limitations and are thus in a position to make revisions. Similar suggestions have been made by Dewey (1974, p. 37). The major point is that participants must anticipate side-effects, continually assess the resulting situations, and remain open to new alternatives. This experimental approach should insure the maintenance of a creative and flexible outlook.

5. Planned change must focus on specific task requirements rather than the personal aims of authority figures. Similarly, recommendations for change must be judged in terms of their relevance to the task, rather than because of the prestige of their proponents. Thus, proposals for planned change must be evaluated objectively with a critical awareness of the various sources of influence that traditionally command authority in decision-making situations (such as persons of particular status or repute, and appeals to the way things have always been done in the past.)

This need is particularly important in education, Benne notes, since status differences between teachers and students create a situation where the teacher's authority over changes in classroom procedures is automatically accepted (p. 145). One way of overcoming this difficulty has been suggested by Dewey (1974). He says teachers should "secure the active cooperation of the pupil in setting goals" (p. 67), and keep to a minimum the exercise of "personal" authority so that, on infrequent occasions when authoritarian actions are indicated, they are carried out in the interest of the class as a whole (p. 54). The same may be said for securing parent-community cooperation. Perhaps parent-community cooperation is the more practical goal since a good strategy for involving parents remains such at any grade or socioeconomic level. In contrast, the advantages of increasing pupil involvement depend very much on

pupil personality factors (such as self-confidence or anxiety level), age, and behavioral difficulties (Greene, 1976).

6. While planned change requires group participation, the personal development of individuals should not be ignored. A major principle of democracy set forth by Aristotle is that collective judgment of the many is more likely to be wiser than the unchecked judgment of the few because the many bring greater experience to bear. This principle has often led opponents of democracy to mistakenly suppose that individuals are not valued in the system. Benne argues, to the contrary, that creative individuality is very much a value of democracy. It is also, however, a value whose realization is often blocked by today's social conditions--conditions such as declines in school enrollments and standardized achievement test scores--that can only be changed by the strengths of collective planning and action (p. 147). Still, it is often the case that good ideas, made real by group planning, originate with one person. Individual creativity should always be encouraged and supported. This may be accomplished by simply asking participants to spend their spare moments reflecting and to record their ideas.

IV. It has been suggested that planned change be viewed as similar to the ordinary problem-solving process under potentially emotional conditions. People are accustomed to things as they are, and it is difficult, psychologically, as well as physically, to adjust to change. One phenomenon on which theorists agree is that changing people's minds is the major battle in any process of institutional innovation. From his research on group processes, Cartwright (1961) has outlined eight principles of attitude change:

1. To accomplish group change, it helps if clients feel a strong sense of belonging, a loyalty to the project or group. People are more likely to support something to which they are committed.

2. The more attractive the change in terms of status or prestige, the stronger the commitment and the more likely that the change will be accepted.

3. The more the change seems to serve the needs and desires of participants, the more it will influence attitudes.

4. Change agents with greatest prestige will have greatest influence on participants.

These four principles suggest that change agents can advance their cause with attractive package plans. Even the most reasonable of plans can benefit from built-in rewards, attempts to meet local needs, and prestigious backing. Such incentives will help to engender the commitments of individual participants, leading to greater attitude change. In the schools, such incentives may include: providing released time for teacher planning; using cultural content in the curriculum (such as *Cinqo de Mayo* or material on Black History); and obtaining the active participation of some well-known local leaders.

5. The more change effort runs counter to existing practice, the more it will face resistance.

6. If the pressure to change lies within the participating group, members will tend to agree on the desirability of change, and actual changes will be greater.

7. Information about the change program and its possible consequences should be shared by all participants.

8. Changes in sub-parts of an organization produce strain on other parts. This strain can be reduced by helping the other parts to adjust through training (pp. 702-6).

These four principles restate the need to get clients involved in identifying and proposing problems for change. Participative planning is especially important if the change greatly differs from current practice. In these cases, recommendations from an expert consultant will rarely suffice. Furthermore, any program of organized change should take formal steps to help clients adapt to the system. Where schools are concerned, procedures for adaptation could take the form of in-service teacher training and parent-teacher, or aide-teacher workshops.

9. As has been stated by Bem (1970), attitudes change so that frequently the actions involved in implementing change will help bring about necessary value and belief shifts (p. 67). It seems wise to encourage clients to test-try changes on a small scale as early in the process as possible.

V. Lewin (1947) has suggested three basic strategies, which can be used alone, or in combination to encourage acceptance of change: (a) strengthen or add to the forces proposing the change; (b) reduce or remove the forces restraining the change; or (c) change the direction of the present forces (pp. 340-4). Taking this "force-field" idea one step further, a fourth strategy becomes clear: (d) combine driving and opposing forces in a way that will serve the ends of both--another form of participative planning.

Any of these four strategies should help to change the organization. But noticeable results depend on a thorough analysis of the forces in the organization. If the driving and restraining forces are not identified and the consequences of employing strategies not anticipated, attempts to change the state of the organization may do more harm than good. Raising the level of a driving force may create whole new forces to be dealt with. Applying direct pressure to change may shift support irrationally to a previously unpopular stance. Should this occur, any positive results already demonstrated would be negated. A better method might be to use strategy (d) and obtain a total management system. Compromise and cooperation are stressed, and may, in the long run, prove more useful than strategies that accept and maintain the existence of opposing forces.

Summary of the Principles of Planned Change

The principles discussed in Section I define the process of planned change to include: analyzing and defining the situation, taking action toward goals, and monitoring changes to insure anticipated results. This is the standard rational

approach to problem solving, difficult to implement because people are not always rational. Irrationality or emotional response of some sort can always be expected, especially in situations of change. Proposals for change should always anticipate and attempt to overcome possible sources of human illogic, the most obvious of which include: clinging to habit or tradition, complacency, distrust of the unfamiliar, belief in authority and the pursuit of self-interest.

Section II describes the important principles of participative planning. Most instances of planned change have been authoritarian, despite the fact that virtually all theory on the subject emphasizes the necessity for cooperation among participants. One reason for this situation may be that participative planning is more troublesome in practice, especially in terms of time and effort. Recommendations have been made for people involved in planned change to use informal methods, whenever formal methods are not possible or need to be supplemented, in order to increase participation and obtain the support of diverse interest groups.

In Section III, six norms were presented for use in creating and maintaining a democratic atmosphere. These may be abbreviated as follows: collaborate across groups; merge theory and practice; teach the process; experiment; focus on the task at hand; and encourage creative thinking. While some suggestions are provided for using these principles in school-related situations, many more possibilities can be imagined. Since the principles are designed to support the process of planned change, it is recommended that serious practitioners use them by tailoring the notions to specific needs.

Section IV describes nine principles of attitude change derived from research on group processes. These have been written to reflect an application to change situations. The recommendations amount to two things: make the change as attractive as possible; and get participants involved as early as possible. To the extent that these aims are accomplished, favorable attitudes are more likely to result.

Finally, Section V provides four basic strategies for implementing planned change. According to Lewin's force-field theory, there are always driving and restraining forces that enhance or inhibit change. The key to accomplishing change is to gain some control over these forces. Where situations permit, it may be wise to increase driving forces. In other instances, it might make sense to reduce restraining forces. Where neither of these strategies seem best, a restraining force could possibly be converted with a driving force. It would be a rare situation where the one best strategy is clearly evidenced. Change agents may have to use two or all three of Lewin's strategies at once. Attempts may have to be made to combine the driving and restraining forces in some manner that serves the ends of both.

OBLIGATIONS OF LEADERS IN PLANNING FOR CHANGE

We know from research and from history that leadership qualities important in politics differ from those important in learning situations. Leadership requirements depend on the organization and the kinds of problems faced (McCormick and Tiffin, 1974). Task analysis of specific situations is one way of determining leadership requirements. Thus far, this paper has analysed the tasks involved in planning for change. These tasks have been synthesized into a common framework for a discussion of the hypothetical case that follows--that of a director/administrator involved in the implementation of a Right-to-Read program in an impoverished community where dropout rates and discipline problems are higher than average, and achievement and developmental levels lower than average.

The Director's responsibilities will be to oversee program organization, scheduling, materials dissemination, teacher/tutor training, publicity, and evaluation. In addition, the Director must act as a liaison between state-level Right-to-Read affiliates and users. These are the leader's responsibilities. The task is to plan for change. What do the operational principles of planned change say to this leader?

Three characteristics of this situation are of particular importance. The leader is charged with: (a) planning a change, (b) in problem-area schools, (c) at a time when the institution of education, in general, is in decline. According to recent organizational theory (Cohen and March, 1974; March, 1974), very different kinds of leadership are likely to be most effective in each of these situations. What is to be done when the situation is a blend of all three?

The principles in Sections II and III clearly state that planned change requires a climate best described as democratic: leadership power must reside in the group; group members must be mutually supportive; and cooperation and collaboration should be by-words. Neither the leader nor the individuals involved should control the power or dominate decision-making in situations of planned change. The individual chosen as program director should be someone of a democratic persuasion--that is, someone who prefers coordination and consultation over exercising authority or relinquishing responsibility to others. He or she must be willing to use the problem-solving approach acknowledging that solutions to problems may be longer in coming, but that implementation should be faster and simpler because participants will have agreed and should be cooperating (Lippett, 1961, p. 432).

Other characteristics peculiar to this situation are that goals are relatively clear; that the process of planned change is well-specified (Section I) and that the director has formal backing from district and state-level administration. There is some evidence from research (Fiedler, 1967) that more structured situations such as this respond to traditionally task-oriented leadership strategies, such as establishing member roles, assigning tasks, and pushing for production. However, the planned change principles emphasize the human relations aspect of leadership obligations at least as much as goal accomplishment. As was previously stressed, any proposal for change is saturated, by nature, with emotional energy, energy that must be channeled in desirable directions if goals are to be met. This is reflected, perhaps most prominently, in the emphasis on participant attitudes expressed in Section IV.

According to Fiedler (1967), Bennis (1961) and Bem (1970), human relations obligations involve deeper concerns for the needs of group members, as reflected in mutual trust, respect and rapport between leaders and subordinates. In situations charged with emotional energy, social and psychological needs become extremely important. These needs (i.e., worker incentives and personal responsibility) can be addressed and met most clearly through the leader's human relations skills and by obtaining the support of key opinion leaders (those few key people, found in the ranks of every group, who have the ability to influence their colleagues, like local favorite teachers).

Our analysis of the leadership obligations in situations of planned change yields major characteristics of the two theories of leadership outlined by Bennis (1961). Our Director would do well to follow some of the tenets of "Classical Leadership Theory," and some of the tenets of the "Human Relations Approach" (p. 436). To the extent that these characteristics are contradictory and difficult for one person to exhibit, it will be necessary to assign respective roles to

agents other than the Program Director. A favorite teacher or principal might, for example, be helpful in handling the human relations aspects of the planning process.

There are two remaining particulars of this situation that complicate the apparently reasonable answers for analysis provides. First, the context for change is problem-area schools, where the climate for education is not exactly favorable; and second, the climate for education, in general, is more negative at present than in years past.

As Cohen and March (1974) and March (1974) have stressed, educational institutions have properties very different from those of large corporations. Goals are not always clear; technology, or means for accomplishing goals, is highly unsystematic; and participants come and go with great frequency. These problems are, of course, enhanced in problem-area schools. Furthermore, school enrollments, standardized achievement scores, and local and national favor for our present educational system are all on the decline. In periods of decline, procedures that work well in periods of growth fail to have similar positive effects. Put simply, the addition of these two characteristics make our leader's role less clear than the principles of planned change might suggest. The tenets of Classical and Human Relations Theory must be tempered with tactics of a different color.

The theory of leadership held by March puts forth these tactics for use in ambiguous situations. Overall, March's view might be described as a playful approach--looking at situations backwards, sideways, or roundabout, always from angles out of the ordinary. His conception of leadership is a blend of themes from Russian and Spanish literature. The thesis is this: there are limits on human control over human destiny, and there are motives for human behavior other than self-gratification and reason (March, 1974, p. 136). Leaders, consequently, must be persistent, expecting only marginal, but noticeable, success (p. 138). March writes:

> We need a style that is pessimistic about great drama, but insistent on the necessity for making marginal improvements that are perceptible. We need a perspective on human limites that allows playful relaxation from the coercion of self-importance. We need administrative optimism... based not on hope for success but on the necessity of moral action... (We) need to realize that our ideology tends systematically to glorify self-interest and its moral corollary of freedom and to underestimate the virtues and pleasures of duty, obligation, and dependence (pp. 137-8).

These leadership qualities are particularly crucial in periods of decline, when traditional viewpoints and practices are called more and more into question.

In conclusion, this paper presents a number of playful, but useful, tactics proposed by Cohen and March (1974) for leaders in situations clouded by ambiguity (as schools typically are, and as problem-area schools surely are). A few new suggestions that seem particularly relevant for our hypothetical director have been added to the Cohen and March list.

1. Spend time. Available time is a critical factor for accomplishing goals in any organization. Cohen and March suggest that persons willing to devote more time to resolving important issues have an added edge on the system. Doing homework builds knowledge and experience, accompanied, in many cases, by control and leverage

over relevant problems. In addition, spending more time on organizational activities increases one's chances of being actively involved in the major decisions.

2. Persist. As we learn from the famous knight errant, Don Quixote de la Mancha, persistence, even in the face of repeated failure, often brings unexpected rewards. The leader, or planned change director, who is diligent may find that a new day and a different person will say yes.

3. Exchange status for substance. A somewhat sad fact about business and life in general is that people frequently place great importance on status, position, and prestige. Cohen and March propose that the wise leader use this fact, if at all possible, to advance organizational causes. Specifically, they suggest that leaders are recipients of many rewards, simply owing to their positions--honors, guest lectures, committee chairs, and others--some of which they might easily give to persons of lesser status who stand to advance by new responsibilities and rewards. Used judiciously, this technique will aid the leader in getting work done and in maintaining an image of humility for sharing many of the "profits of public importance" (p. 209) A Right-to-Read director might, for example, arrange for participating teachers and tutors to receive special titles and local publicity for their efforts; ask participating parents to chair committees or visit other regional program sites; and reward recipients of reading instruction with admittance to a special training program for turoring new students.

4. Facilitate opposition participation. A good way to convert skeptics is to get them sincerely involved in planning and conducting business. Once they have seen things from the inside and felt the spoils of dashed hopes, they will be more likely to soften their opposing stances and contribute constructively in the future.

5. Overload the system. The more projects a leader can propose without becoming overly committed to any one, the better position he or she will be in to accomplish some of them. The worst thing leaders can do in situations of ambiguity is promote one pet project. Too many factors can intervene to alter the course of events. Having a repertoire of proposed activities will help assure that at least some of them are acted upon. Teacher/tutor training, materials development, regular site visits, publicity and other recruitment plans should all be part of the repertoire of a Right-to-Read director.

6. Provide garbage cans for dumping stale and unproductive issues. All leaders face problems when circumstances are emotional because emotional issues drain valuable time and energy. Cohen and March see this as the case in situations of ambiguity. For example, "a proposal for bicycle paths becomes an arena for discussion of sexual inequality" (p. 211). To counter the unwanted effects of emotional discussions, leaders should establish broad topic areas such as "re-examining discriminatory textbooks." These topics can then be discussed as early items on meeting agendas or farmed out to committees for further considerations.

7. Manage unobtrusively. Leaders can attempt to make small changes where possibilities for success are good, rather than sweeping proposals which will probably be rejected or fail. Our planned change director might publicize local percentages of illiteracy in hopes that educators and community members will take a more active interest.

8. Interpret history. Organizations with problems of ambiguity have notoriously bad memories, even about plans made from one meeting to the next. By using their knowledge of past district-led innovations, clever Right-to-Read directors will be able to clarify and justify their different actions.

9. Encourage reflection. Plans are based on ideas, and ideas come from people. When plans are moving along, time is at a premium. As Shaftel (1969) has pointed out, the efficiency gained by smooth-running plans is often accompanied by serious cost: the more efficient we become at doing something, the more likely we are to be locked into the system we use. When free time is scarce and plans run according to schedule, the likelihood that real efforts will be made to generate new ideas is considerably reduced. With a program that greatly depends on good ideas for its effectiveness, as does the Right-to-Read program, a reduction in creativity, or a loss of thoughtful search for different ways of reaching people, may be counter-productive. Directors of planned change in this and similar situations should encourage creative problem-finding and problem-solving by all participants, even if time for reflection must be scheduled in.

10. Seize serendipitous events. The unexpected always happens. Often unexpected or unfortunate occurences turn out favorably. A tornado warning forces a class of slow readers to remain in the school basement for the day. The teacher brings in some interesting new reading materials. An eighth-grade dropout, unable to find work, is offered a job reading to a blind man and renews an interest in learning. An illiterate farmer is humiliated when his son accidentally learns that the parent cannot read--an incident that brings the farmer back to school. An Appalachian Mountain girl whose parents would not send her to school is allowed to read scripture with the local clergyman. These examples indicate that good things can come from unexpected or unfortunate events. It is the task of the perceptive leader to exploit such situations, directing them to further the ends of the program(s) however may be reasonably or ethically possible.

11. Plan change with a light heart. In the beginning of this paper, the somewhat contradictory nature of "planned change" was pointed out. Apart from semantical inconsistencies, something else should be said about the notion. Most change occurs naturally without help from planners. The idea that people can ever really plan as if from a blueprint, what will inevitably occur, is disputable. Inherent contradictions such as this limit to some extent the degree to which planned change should be taken seriously.

The importance of flexibility in planning for change has been stressed. Right-to-Read directors, as other leaders, need to be flexible. As initiators, implementors and monitors of human experience, they should be able to seize upon and exploit unplanned-for events and to modify existing conditions when necessary.

Finally, it should be stressed that any leader will benefit by keeping central the idea that one never operates alone, but rather, is dependent upon those one works with and represents (March, 1974; Gray, 1968). This philosophy is derived from the considered attitude that "an informed average judgment in contact with others has been found to be wiser for a people to follow than any other" (Gray, 1968, p. 136). The real key to turning theory into practice is held by practitioners, not researchers. This paper, therefore, has attempted to provide practitioners with some thoughts and hints which will extend that "field of vision" beyond the end of the road.

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